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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP  
INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Greece

DATE: 25X1A6a

SUBJECT The "Democratic Army":  
Organization and Policy

INFO. [REDACTED]

DIST. 25 February 1947

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PAGES 5

SUPPLEMENT

ORIGIN [REDACTED]

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2. Organization of the D.S. (Democratic Army)

It was decided that the Andarte movement would be organized henceforth on the following lines:

- (a) Andarte Band: This would be the basic unit and would comprise 25 to 30 men.
- (b) Group of Andarte Bands: This would be composed of 150 men.
- (c) Mountain Headquarters: There would be a Mountain Headquarters on every important mountain range. These Headquarters would command all the Groups of Andarte bands or individual Andarte bands operating in their particular territory.
- (d) Regional General Headquarters: Such headquarters would ultimately be set up in each Region to command all Mountain Headquarters and smaller formations operating in the Region. There would be three Regional Headquarters - Northern Greece (Macedonia and Thrace), Thessaly (including Epirus), and Roumeli (Sterea Ellas).

3. Liaison and Coordination

An official would be appointed in each local K.K.E. organization to deal exclusively with Andarte matters. He would maintain contact with the Andartes operating in his region, keeping them informed of the movements, strength and armament of local Government forces, both Army and Gendarmerie. He would also keep the Andartes supplied with food and other requirements and reinforce the Groups with both men and women recruits. Machinery for the coordination of operations and activities between the various Regional headquarters, and between the Regional headquarters and its sub-

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ADSO	X A DEP.	FBV	SPDF	VTO	[REDACTED]	OIR
DADSO	FBK	FBV	SPDF	B DEP.	[REDACTED]	EV
EXEC.	FBL	FBX	SPDT	CTR	[REDACTED]	
CONTROL	FBM	FBZ	SCO	CTRB	[REDACTED]	
PLANS	X FBP-3	X SPDA	TRB	X [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	

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commands, was also to be evolved. Permanent contact would therefore be established between the various Regional headquarters, and between each Regional Headquarters and its subordinate Mountain Headquarters. The whole Andarte movement would thus be in a position to integrate its operation against the Army and the Gendarmerie as well as to usurp the functions of the State itself.

#### 4. Present Strength of the Democratic Army

The present strength of the Democratic Army, based on figures presented to the Full Assembly by the Kapetanei, was given as 8,700 men and 115 women. Regional Headquarters of Northern Greece had 5,200 men and 87 women under its command, the Regional Headquarters of Thessaly and Epirus 2,600 men and 25 women, and the Regional Headquarters of Sterea Ellas 900 men and 3 women. As the number of women Andartes was not considered sufficient, it was decided to increase the number to 500 by the end of the year and to employ them in the hospitals and health services.

#### 5. Policy of the Democratic Army

It was unanimously agreed that the Democratic Army would follow K.K.E.'s general line of policy. Territory held by Andartes would be purged of all reactionary elements including the Gendarmerie and armed Right Wing bands. Propaganda in the Army would be intensified. Executions of members of the Greek forces, apart from well-known Monarcho-Fascists, would be avoided. Booklets, pamphlets and the newspapers of the Democratic Army explaining its aims and urging Reconciliation would be circulated throughout the country.

Propaganda put out by the Andartes would stress the patriotic aims of the Democratic Army and explain its opposition to the movement for an Autonomous Macedonia, which false rumor had attributed to the Andartes. The suggestion that the Andartes received assistance from abroad would be dismissed as equally false and it would be made clear that the Democratic Army intended to defend Greece's frontiers.

It was also agreed that the rank and file should be restrained from any acts of personal revenge and murder of the defenseless. If, however, circumstances forced their hand, care must be taken to put the blame for such incidents on the Gendarmerie. Burning and looting of property were to be discouraged.

#### 6. Administration of the Free Areas

Mountain and Regional Headquarters would organize the political, military and security administration of their Free Areas. Local Town Majors would be appointed in villages and towns, who would keep order with Andarte patrols and the National Civil Guard (EP). The patrols and EP's would keep a close check on all new-comers (Greeks or foreigners) and provide intelligence on the movements of the Reaction and Greek armed forces.

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People's Committees would be formed to deal with the needs of the local population in each Community. The Andartes would also exercise a political role. Schools would be re-opened as soon as possible and telephone communications re-established between the Free Areas. People's Courts would also be set up but would only deal with minor offenses. Andarte Courts-martial would deal with cases such as espionage or collaboration with the Government forces of the Reaction.

It was stated that all these conditions had been realized already in the Free Areas under the control of the Regional Headquarters of Northern Greece whose example was being followed by the Regional Headquarters of Thessaly and Epirus, but not in the Sterea Ellas region, where there were as yet no well-established Free Areas.

#### 7. Official View of K.K.E. on the Internal Situation

Petros Roussos, the K.K.E. representative, then addressed the meeting. He said that the position of the present Government was completely undermined by its failure to establish Greece's national claims and by the financial situation. There would therefore soon be another Government crisis. The Anglo-Saxons would again interfere to support the formation of an anti-EAM bloc of the Bourgeois Parties. Such a solution would be unacceptable to the people, the Party and the Democratic Army. If imposed, the people would have to fight on until it could dictate its own terms to the Government of the "Athens State."

#### 8. Relations Between K.K.E. and the Democratic Army

Continuing his address, Roussos stated that the Party attached great importance to reaching general agreement with the Assembly. It admitted having made mistakes in the past when, for example, certain ELAS Kapetanei had been unfairly treated. But errors had been committed on both sides and in the interests of unity in the present task personal grudges should be forgotten. Kapetanei should remember that the Central Leadership of the Party was determined not to repeat the mistakes of the past. The Central Committee of the Party officially declared that it would not interfere in any technical or military matter affecting the Democratic Army. (This part of the address was enthusiastically cheered by the Kapetanei). The complete success of future operations would depend on the coordination of the Democratic Army's operations and activities. Coordination under a central authority was essential and could only be implemented by the formation of a General Headquarters of the Democratic Army of Greece. As already stated, the Central Committee would not intervene in such matters but wished to be allowed to make the suggestion that a temporary Committee of three members be chosen whose task would be to coordinate the activities of the Democratic Army. The Committee would function until such time as a GHQ was formed. This could not take place, even if the suggestion were adopted, until K.K.E. and EAM were officially outlawed.

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Roussos suggested that two of the three members be chosen by the Kapetanei present, while the third member would be appointed by the Central Committee of the Party. The Committee of three would coordinate the activities of the three Regional Headquarters much in the same way as the former Central Committee of ELAS (with Mandakas, Hadjimichalis and Siantos) controlled ELAS. Roussos's proposal was put to the vote and accepted. Georgios Kissavos and Markos Variades were elected to represent the Kapetanei, while the third member remained to be chosen by the Politburo. He would be a member of the Central Committee and continue to reside in Athens. As the Party and Left Wing were still in a position to operate semi-legally, it was not yet time to discuss the formation of a Government. The matter would be seriously considered as soon as K.K.E. was officially outlawed.

#### 9. N.O.F.

Roussos assured the meeting that the Central Committee was as much preoccupied as the Andartes with the subject of N.O.F. He agreed with certain of the Kapetanei present that, had a delegation of N.O.F. Kapetanei been invited to the Full Assembly, as had been suggested, the meeting's chances of agreement would have been slight. As N.O.F. was a satellite organization of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a delegation of Kapetanei would in any case have had no authority to discuss matters with K.K.E. N.O.F. aimed either at the union of Greek and Bulgarian Macedonia with a Macedonian Republic in the Federal Yugoslav State, or at the formation of a United Macedonian Democracy as an integral part of the Federal Popular Democracy of the Balkans. It could not therefore be concealed that a divergence of political aims existed between K.K.E. and N.O.F. It was a matter which could not be settled at the present Assembly and the Central Committee had ordered him, accompanied by Bartziotas, to settle the matter direct with Skopje.

K.K.E. believed that after discussion N.O.F. would agree to declare that it had no territorial claims on Greek Macedonia and would then continue to operate on Greek soil under K.K.E. control. Being Communists themselves, N.O.F. would be bound to uphold the principle of self-determination. If K.K.E.'s terms were rejected by N.O.F., the Party would suggest a plebiscite, leaving it to the Macedonians to decide whether they wished to remain with Greece or go over to Yugoslavia. As the Slavo-Macedonians were a minority in Macedonia, the result of such a plebiscite would undoubtedly be in favor of Greece. It was hoped that N.O.F. would not insist on a different solution to the problem, as this might well be prejudicial to the Greek revolutionary movement. The population of Macedonia and Thrace were even greater patriots than the Greeks of Roumeli Sterea, and Roussos felt sure that they would not submit to anything but a Greek political administration. The Party hoped that its differences of opinion with N.O.F. would be settled by the end of November and expected to see N.O.F. and the Democratic Army continue the struggle for independence and the liberation of Greece from British troops.

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Roussos concluded his statement on N.O.F. by saying that he had been authorized to tell the Assembly that if an agreement could not be reached K.K.E. would submit the question to the Bureau of the Balkan Communist Parties, which would hold its second meeting at the end of November. K.K.E. was confident that the verdict would be in its favor, the majority of its "foreign Comrades" being in agreement with the Party's attitude.

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